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VOL. IV.



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from its Servants in the East

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INTRODUCTION

THE documents printed in the present volume cover the calendar year 1616. It was a period of varying fortunes for the Company's settlements, but on the whole one of hopeful effort rather than of assured success. From some factories we hear of satisfactory profits and a favourable outlook; but these are exceptions, and from the majority come complaints of slack demands for English goods, with urgent calls for more money—'the only staff of these Eastern trades' (p. 244)—if cargoes are to be provided for England. In one respect the date marks a turning point in the Company's history; for with the Dutch conquest of Pulo Ai and the curtailment of the English privileges in Japan commenced that gradual decline of English power in the countries east of the Bay of Bengal, which was to end in the practical abandonment of that part of the world to the merchants of Holland, while on the other side of the Bay began that steady development of British commerce which was destined to provide such ample compensation for this loss. To 1616 belong not only the foundation by Roe of English influence at the Mogul court, but also the despatch of the first trading ship to a Persian port and the first permanent settlement on the Coromandel coast.

At the beginning of the year the ships of the 1615 fleet were swinging idly at anchor in Swally Hole. Only one of their number—the *Lion*—was to be despatched to England

with the cargo of indigo and piece-goods which the factors were slowly collecting; yet the others must wait to lend her their countenance and escort her beyond the reach of the Goa and Diu flotillas. By the middle of February, however, all was ready, and it only remained for Keeling, in virtue of his position as 'Factor-General and Supervisor of the Factories and Merchants in the East India and all other parts and places belonging to their trade,' to revise the Company's establishments and to assign to each factor his appropriate station. On February 18 a consultation was held 'on the sands in the road of Swally,' at which it was determined that the factories in the Mogul's dominions should be four in number: Ahmadábád, of which John Brown was to be chief; Burhánpúr, placed under Nicholas Bangham; Ajmere and Agra, grouped together as the Court factory, under William Biddulph; and finally Surat, the head of which, Thomas Kerridge, was also to be 'principal factor' over the whole four, as well as over any further settlements that might be established in the same parts. Kerridge thus succeeded to the position left vacant by the death of Aldworth, and it was decided that he should receive the same salary as his predecessor (Kerridge's Letter-book: Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 9366).

These matters being settled, Keeling gave the signal for departure. On February 19 the fleet set sail; and on the following day the *Lion* quitted her consorts and steered Capewards on her way to England.¹ Passing down the Malabar coast, Keeling secured three Portuguese prizes, and paid a visit to the Zamorin of Calicut, with whom he concluded an agreement resulting in the establishment of a short-lived factory in his dominions (p. 64). After rounding Ceylon, the fleet separated, Peyton in the *Expedition* heading for Priaman

¹ She carried home five passengers: Edwards, the late Agent at Ajmere; that militant cleric, the Rev. Peter Rogers; Richard Barber, an apothecary, who was the last survivor of the English suite taken out by Sherley in 1613; Nicholas Withington; and Bailey Ball. (Peyton's Journal: Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 19276).

and Tiku, while the General himself, with the *Dragon* and *Peppercorn*, stood away for Achin.

The information available regarding the events of Keeling's stay at the latter port is exceedingly scanty. He appears to have presented a letter from King James, written in answer to one brought home by Captain Best (vol. i., p. 271), and to have made application for a fresh grant of privileges, which should include the right of trading at Tiku. The Sultan was not altogether willing that English ships should go straight to the pepper ports without calling at Achin; but at last, in consideration of the royal letter, and in hopes of receiving 'ten mastiff dogs and ten bitches, with a great gun wherein a man may sit upright' (p. 125), he granted the desired permission for a period of two years (p. 126). Before sailing, Keeling re-organized the English factory at Achin, leaving William Nichols in charge, with two assistants and a stock of merchandise.

On July 26 Keeling reached Tiku, where he found the *Expedition*. Owing to the strength of the current that sweeps down the western side of Sumatra, Peyton had failed in his first attempt to reach that port, and had been forced to bear up for Bantam, which was reached on the first of May; a second venture, however, had proved more successful, and on June 10 he had anchored off Priaman, moving to Tiku on the 18th. The royal letter brought by Keeling from Achin was received by the local officials with much show of respect; but, as before, the English found them turbulent and over-reaching, and great difficulty was experienced in arriving at an agreement regarding the terms on which pepper should be bartered for the calicoes brought by the fleet. The Gujarátí traders, too, by no means relished English competition, and 'the chief merchant of their family' had recourse to a ruse which threatened to have serious consequences for the factors; 'but God,' adds Millward piously, 'prevented him; for within two days after, his house, together with many other of his

associates, were burnt down to the ground' (p. 93). Pepper, however, came in but slowly, and as the presence of three English ships would only enhance its price, Keeling sailed on August 5 for Bantam, and Peyton followed on the 11th of the next month, leaving the *Peppercorn* to complete her lading.

At Bantam the year had broken in unmitigated gloom. The trade of the town was hasting to swift decay; many of the principal Chinese merchants had left, and those who remained were heavily in debt to the English or the Dutch. In the English factory men were scarce, the stock of money was low, and there was little prospect of more being obtained—at all events from the sale of goods. The Pangeran (Protector), who was the real ruler of the country, was suspicious of the negotiations which Jourdain was carrying on with the King of the neighbouring state of Jacatra, fearing that they would result in the transfer of the English headquarters to his rival's territory; while the Dutch, incensed by English proceedings in the Bandas, were uncompromisingly hostile, and were doing their utmost to damage and embarrass their quondam allies. To add to their anxieties, all the first part of the year the English (like their Dutch neighbours) were dreading an attack from a large Portugo-Spanish armada (p. 146; see also vol. iii., p. 114). In the preceding summer the Viceroy of Goa had despatched four galleons to the aid of Juan de Silva, the energetic Governor of the Philippines, who had formed far-reaching plans for the destruction of the Protestant settlements in Java and elsewhere. As a matter of fact, the Portuguese squadron got no farther than Malacca, where, after losing one of their number in a fierce conflict with the Achinese flotilla described in the last volume, they were attacked and destroyed (December, 1615) by a Dutch fleet under Van der Haghen; and when, some three months later, De Silva made his appearance in the Straits of Singapore, it was only to find that the expected reinforcement had ceased to exist. After a short illness, caused, it was said, by disappointment at the frustration of his plans, he

When, therefore, Keeling reached Bantam (in the latter part of September) there was plenty of scope for his energies. The Company had hoped much from him, and had given him powers far more extensive than had been entrusted to any of his predecessors. At the instance of Best, who told them that their trade would never be well managed until they had, like the Dutch, a resident chief supervising the whole of their factories (Court Minutes, June 29, 1614), they had appointed Keeling to stay in the East for five years, either at Bantam or Jacatra, with absolute control (subject to the advice of his council) over their ships and servants in all parts of the East.¹ But he had no heart in the work, and his chief aim seems to have been to get back as speedily as possible to the wife he had left behind him. At the time of his de-

¹ The instructions actually given to Keeling appear nowhere among the Company's records; but there can be little doubt, I think, that the undated and mutilated fragment contained in British Museum *Cotton MSS.*, *Otho*, vol. viii. (ff. 254-263), is a portion of a copy. Amongst other things, the person to whom the commission is addressed, is ordered to 'choose four principal places where the chief persons ought to be resident, viz., Suratt, Coromandell, Bantam, Patania; to which principal persons in those four places you may give [the] name of Agents, Directors, Consuls, or such like. The government of him in Surrat should stretch over all the country of the Great Mogore, as Surratt itself, Cambaia, Barocha, Amadavar, Agra, Lahor, and the places thereabouts. He of Coromandell should have command over those factories that shall be planted in Narsinga. He of Bantam should have his command over Sumatra, Java, Succadana, Macassar, unto the Mulluccos. And the command of him at Patania to stretch over Siam, Camboja, Cochinchina, Japon, Borneo, and the places thereabouts. And if a factor[y] be also to be planted at Mocha, there likewise to be a chief head.' The fragment concludes with an interesting account of trade on the Coromandel coast, in Bengal and Pegu, seemingly derived from the reports of Peter Floris.

In the *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 300, this document is conjecturally assigned to 1614, with a suggestion that its contents were addressed to Jourdain.

parture he had pleaded earnestly to be allowed to take her with him, and for a time his employers had wavered. The question was debated at great length, and 'some approved of the motion, supposing it to be very fitting in regard of the quiet of his mind and good of his soul . . . and as a curse befalleth those that keep man and wife asunder, so this Company cannot but expect a blessing in giving way for them to continue together' (Court Minutes, Nov. 8, 1614); but in the end it was decided that such a course could not be permitted. In spite of this, Keeling managed to smuggle her aboard his vessel just before his departure, and he was only induced to put her ashore again by threats of summary dismissal. From the Cape he wrote 'wonderful many arguments and requests to have his wife sent unto him, or to permit him to come home in what fashion soever' (vol. ii., p. 190); and the Court at last gave an unwilling assent to his return. On October 8, 1616, a consultation was held at Bantam,¹ when it was decided that he should take home the *Dragon*, and that Peyton should keep him company in the *Expedition*. To complete the lading of these two ships, the *Hector* was emptied of her pepper, and she was sent to Jacatra to careen.² Jourdain, who had been disappointed the previous year of his intended return to England (vol. iii., p. xxvi.), was to follow Keeling in the *Clove*; and George Berkeley, the principal merchant of the 1615 fleet, was made chief of the Bantam factory. In accordance with these arrangements, Keeling sailed on October 10, and Peyton three days later. The despatch of these two vessels appears to have exhausted the resources of the factory, and it was not until December 14 that the *Clove* put to sea on her homeward voyage, with Jourdain on board.

¹ Peyton's Journal (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 19276).

² There she was declared to be past repair and was broken up. She had certainly a long record of service, having been in the First, Second, Third, and Eighth Separate Voyages, and finally in Downton's voyage for the Joint Stock. Moreover, she was not a new ship when the Company bought her (1600). Thomas Dallam sailed in her to Constantinople in 1599, with an organ intended for a present to the Grand Signor (*Voyages to the Levant*, Hakluyt Society, 1892).

Of the factories dependent on Bantam, Japan is dealt with on a later page: Patani and Siam require no special notice: and the attempt to settle a permanent factory at Masulipatam, on the Coromandel Coast, is described in the letter from Antheunis printed on p. 28.

We must now turn our attention to the Moluccas, and more especially to the Banda group, the unhappy natives of which were paying dearly for the possession of the spices so fiercely coveted by the nations of Europe. As related in the last volume, Sophony Cozuck had in September, 1615, left two Englishmen with a small stock of merchandise at Pulo Ai, and had brought to Bantam a Bandanese chief with a letter appealing for assistance against the Dutch, in consideration of which the islanders offered a monopoly of the spice trade to the English; the Bantam factors, however, had avoided committing themselves to any active measures of support 'without orders from England,' and had merely promised to send a ship for trading purposes, 'and some to confer with the Orancayas' (vol. iii., pp. xxxiv., 336). In fulfilment of this promise, and in spite of a warning issued by Koen that all English ships found in the Moluccas would be impounded as trespassers, Jourdain in December, 1615, prepared a small squadron for despatch to the Bandas, consisting of the *Thomas*, the *Concord*, and a pinnace called the *Speedwell*. Just as they were ready to start (December 29) two fresh ships, the *Clove* and *Defence*, arrived from England under Samuel Castleton, sent, it would seem, for the express purpose of a trading venture to the Spice Islands. Probably the factors would have preferred that the expedition should be commanded by one of themselves, but they could not ignore Castleton's claims. It was judged best, therefore, to put under his orders the vessels already prepared; and the fleet thus formed, after a short stay at Jacatra, set sail on January 20 for its destination.

Regarding Castleton's previous history we have little information. He is first heard of in 1611-13, when he commanded an interloping vessel, called the *Pearl*, in a voyage to Sumatra and

Ceylon. His adventure nearly had a fatal termination, for while watering at St. Helena on his homeward way, he was surprised by two Portuguese carracks, and was forced to cut his cable and put to sea, leaving his water casks and half his men on shore. Two Dutch ships under Jan Dirckszoon Lam had only just left, and Castleton, hastening after them, begged their assistance. Lam at once turned back and assailed the Portuguese vessels. He was beaten off, with the loss of one of his ships; but meanwhile Castleton had recovered most of his men, and with Lam's assistance he managed to reach England in safety. There the ship and goods were promptly sequestered on the complaint of the Spanish Ambassador, who asserted that Castleton had robbed the subjects of his master; and although the unfortunate Captain cleared himself from this charge, he failed to get his cargo out of the clutches of the law.¹ The Company, moved partly by pity for his distresses and partly by a wish to keep him from repeating his experiment, found him employment in the preparation of their shipping. To some of his suggestions (which included a plan for distilling fresh water from salt) they lent a willing ear; but for a long time they steadfastly refused to listen to his repeated applications for employment in the East. At last, however, they gave way, induced in great measure by persistent rumours of a fresh interloping expedition, in which Castleton was to be employed; and in April 1615 he was put in command of the two ships already mentioned and despatched to Bantam.

The instructions he now received for his further voyage to the Moluccas are unfortunately not to be found; but in Jourdain's letter on p. 67 we are told that he was directed to proceed to Macassar to take in the necessary supply of rice and then to make the best of his way to the Bandas, afterwards visiting Amboyna, Tidore, and the neighbouring ports. With him were associated George Ball (who had commanded the *Concord* in the expedition of the previous year), John Bailey, Sophony Cozuck, and Hugh Greet.

¹ See an interesting broadsheet (undated) in the Guildhall Library ('Petition to Parliament of the Adventurers in the Ship called the *Pearl*').

Pulo Ai was reached on the 2nd of March, and the Bandanese envoy was put ashore. It was a critical moment, for a strong Dutch force was gathering at Neira¹ to renew the attack which had failed the previous year. On the 11th the Dutch fleet, numbering nine large ships and a sloop, put to sea and plied for Pulo Ai, with the determination to repeat the lesson of the previous year and to oblige their rivals to quit the scene, by menaces if possible, and, if not, by more forcible means. Next day a council was held on board the English admiral, and it was resolved to 'stand the coming of the Hollanders.' On the 13th, when the Dutch ships had approached within a league and a half, a second council was held, at which the English decided to 'cut their hawsers and let slip their cables and to go out and meet the Hollanders.'² Both sides prepared for battle. Four of the Dutch ships, working to windward, seized the weathergage; the remainder spread to leeward, to intercept the English in that direction. But the latter soon recognised that their opponents were in overwhelming force, and that a contest could have but one termination. The four ships which, with the little pinnace, composed the English squadron, were not only undermanned (cp. vol. iii., p. 276) but in bad condition; in fact, one of their number, the *Thomas*, was under orders to proceed to Japan to refit (p. 68): a second, the *Concord*, was shortly afterwards laid up, as being too 'rotten and leaky' to be of any further service: and the remaining two had been at sea almost continuously for a year. On the other hand, the Dutch had nine good ships and a large force, not only of sailors but of soldiers,

¹ See the map on p. xxxii. of vol. iii.

² These facts are taken from the sworn depositions made in the Admiralty Court in 1618 by several merchants and sailors who had been present on the occasion (*Factory Records: Java*, vol. ii., pt. ii.). The only other materials from the English side are the two documents given on pp. 72-75 of the present volume, and some scattered references in *Purchas*. For the Dutch version see Adriaen van der Dussen's letter to the Bewindhebbers in July, 1616, given in Tiele's *Ophomst van het Nederl. Gezag*, 2nd series, pt. i., p. 132; Van der Chijs's *Vestiging van het Nederl. Gezag over de Banda Eilanden*, pp. 80, 81; and Tiele's *Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel*, pt. 8, pp. 176, 177.

intended for the conquest of Pulo Ai; and they had the additional advantage of a strong base of operations in the fortress of Nassau on the island of Neira. Castleton saw that resistance was hopeless, and that the only thing to be done was to make the best terms possible. Hailing the nearest Dutch vessel, he inquired who was in command of the fleet. The answer was: Jan Dirckszoon Lam—the captain to whose timely assistance Castleton, as already related, had been so deeply indebted on his previous voyage. This made conciliatory proceedings the more easy. Castleton and Ball hastened on board Lam's ship, where the former greeted the Dutch commander with effusion, and declared that he had come to make good the obligation he was under. The negotiations appear, however, to have been prolonged, for it was not until three days later (March 16, O.S.) that an agreement was reached. Castleton signed a declaration that he had in no way assisted the people of Pulo Ai; and the Dutch undertook that if the English remained neutral in the coming struggle, their factors should not be interfered with, and, in the event of the Dutch succeeding, should be allowed to quit the island with their goods in a pinnace left for this purpose by Castleton (p. 72).¹ This compact signed and delivered, the English commander issued instructions to Richard Hunt, the Company's factor on Pulo Ai, to observe strict neutrality in the coming contest and, should the Dutch conquer the island, 'presently to get your goods aboard and come away' (p. 74). On the same day the English fleet sailed away to the West, exchanging friendly salutes with the Dutch as they passed.

Thus abandoned to their fate, the natives of Pulo Ai were at a loss what to do. Hopeless of success in resisting the expected onslaught, they decided as a last resource, and in spite of the fact that their overtures for an alliance had been practically rejected,

¹ Dr. Gardiner, in his account of this incident (*History*, vol. iii., p. 167), has unwittingly done the Dutch an injustice. He describes the agreement as providing that if successful they 'would share the trade with the English,' a promise which, he says, they afterwards failed to keep. It will be seen from the actual text of the document (now first printed) that no pledge of this sort was given.

to invoke the shelter of the British flag. A formal surrender of the two islands of Pulo Ai and Pulo Run was made to Hunt—who acted throughout in flagrant disobedience to his instructions—and English colours were hoisted on the fortifications. But this availed them nothing. On March 27 (O.S.) the Dutch landed in force, and beat down all resistance. The greater part of the natives abandoned their homes and fled to Pulo Run; the remainder submitted. A fresh treaty was entered into, and a strong castle, named Fort Revenge, was built to secure their future obedience. Richard Hunt fled with the natives and managed at last to reach Bantam, 'bringing with him the earth of the country, sticks and stones, delivered him in sign of possession.'¹ The pinnace which Castleton had left in Neira road was allowed by the Dutch to depart to Bantam with her cargo of spices.

From Pulo Ai, Castleton proceeded to Lochoe, on Ceram; but finding a Dutch squadron on guard there, he betook himself to the Moluccas proper. Reael, the Dutch governor, succeeded in preventing the natives from selling cloves to the English commander, but could not hinder him from exchanging rice for spices at the Spanish fortress of Tidore. He protested violently, but, finding Castleton defiant, took no steps to compel him to desist. Death, however, relieved him shortly of his opponent's presence,² and the English ships, having lost their commander,

¹ Jourdain's journal in the British Museum (*Sloane MS.* 858, f. 106b). See also his account of the surrender of the islands to the English; and cp. *Purchas*, vol. i., pp. 609, 701.

The view taken above—that the delivery of the islands to Hunt was made after Castleton's departure—is based on the statements in the second 'surrender' (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 701), that it took place 'before the surprise of Pooloway, eight days' [*i.e.*, about March 19], and that it was done 'when Captain Castleton went from Pooloway with four ships.' It has usually been said that the transaction took place soon after Castleton's arrival, but the only authority I can find for this statement is in the account given by Van der Dussen, in which Castleton is represented as saying that the Bandanese had surrendered their territory to the English and hoisted the English flag in spite of his disapproval. This assertion, however, does not carry much weight, and the balance of probability is in the other direction.

² Cocks (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 269) mentions an absurd rumour that Castleton was poisoned by the Spaniards on account of his partiality for the Dutch. Peyton (*Purchas*, vol. 1st, p. 533) says he died of the flux.

straggled back to Bantam, with the exception of the *Thomas*, which, as previously arranged, went on to Japan.

To all appearance Pulo Ai was irrevocably lost. But there were islands in the group which still maintained a precarious independence, and in one or other of these Jourdain and his colleagues might hope to secure a footing. Acquiescence in the Dutch monopoly seemed to them out of the question; it would spell ruin for English trade at Bantam, and would deprive the East India Company of the most lucrative branch of their commerce (cp. vol. iii., p. 338). Something must be done, and done at once to checkmate their opponents' designs; and the most promising course appeared to be to act upon the surrender made, as already narrated, to Richard Hunt, and to send a fresh expedition which should occupy Pulo Run in the name of King James, and lay formal claim to Pulo Ai. With the help of the natives, and under the shelter of the British flag, the factors hoped to hold at least Pulo Run until diplomacy should have time to get to work. In the East the disproportion between the forces of the contending parties was too great for the English to expect success in any active measures of hostility; but at Westminster or the Hague, with the support of the home government, they might hope that a solution favourable to their interests would be reached. In any case they would have done their duty to their employers and to their Sovereign by making good their footing in the disputed territory, and claiming what they believed to be their rights.

Only two ships were now available—the *Defence*, of 300 tons, which had been one of the four vessels of Castleton's fleet, and the *Swan*, a new ship of 400 tons, which had been detached at the Cape from the 1616 fleet and had reached Bantam in the autumn. Of these Nathaniel Courthope took command, with Sophony Cozuck, Thomas Spurway, and Richard Hunt as his principal assistants. His commission (drawn evidently by Jourdain, and signed by him, Berkeley, Ball, and Coppindall) is given on p. 215. After calling at Macassar for rice and other

goods, he was to proceed direct to Pulo Run. There he was to make inquiry as to the relations between the Dutch and the natives, and to induce the latter 'to ratify under their hands and seals the former surrender, if lawfully made; if not, then to make a new surrender of all or part of such islands as are yet under their own commands and at their own dispose, leaving out those where the Flemings are possessed and have command.' Nothing was to be attempted against Pulo Ai, though, if the surrender were found to be good, the Dutch were to be notified of the English claim. Should the inhabitants of Lontor and Rosengijn be willing to put themselves in like manner under English protection, a formal agreement was to be drawn to that effect. If the natives of Pulo Run should so request, guns were to be landed for their defence; and should the Dutch 'offer violence to the countries of our sovereign lord the King, or to the ships, goods or persons of his subjects, you are to the utmost of your power, even to the loss of lives and goods, to make good the same' (p. 218).

Armed with these instructions, Courthope put to sea, and on December 23rd¹ the two ships anchored off Pulo Run. Next day the native chiefs came on board, and a conference was held. Asked 'whether they had made any contract with the Hollanders and given them any surrender, they all replied they had not, nor never would'; and they assured the English factors that Pulo Ai had been regularly surrendered to 'the King's Majesty of England' before the Dutch attack. Writings were 'drawn and confirmed by the principals of Pulo Run and Pulo Ai,' who 'at the same instant delivered us a nutmeg tree with the fruits thereon in the earth, with other fruits and a living goat.'² The English colours were hoisted and saluted; and six pieces of ordnance were landed and two batteries constructed in order

¹ Courthope's Journal as given in *Purchas* (vol. i., p. 664); also the letter in British Museum *Egerton MS.* 2086, f. 26. Spurway (*vide infra*) gives the date as Dec. 13.

² Spurway's account in *Purchas* (vol. i., p. 608). The 'surrender' is given at p. 701 of the same volume.

to meet the attack which it was expected would be made as soon as the Dutch at Neira should learn what had taken place. Thus matters stood at the close of 1616.

In Japan the year saw a significant change in the position of the English and other foreign traders. By the middle of June, after some months of conflicting rumours, it was known for certain at Hirado (Firando) that Iyeyasu had breathed his last; and with him expired the privileges which Saris had obtained for his fellow countrymen, mainly owing to Iyeyasu's regard for William Adams. It was necessary that an embassy should be sent to solicit a fresh grant from his son and successor,¹ and this duty would of course fall to the agent himself. Cocks, however, would gladly have evaded the troublesome task. For a time he was in hopes that Keeling would make his appearance in Japan and undertake the mission; and when this expectation proved futile, he still lingered on the excuse that Captain Adams' presence would be desirable. At last the Captain's arrival from Siam took away all pretext for further delay, and Cocks reluctantly embarked with him on July 30. Osaka was reached on August 5, and thence the party a week later proceeded overland to the capital. Arriving at Jeddo on August 27, Cocks put up at Captain Adams' house, which soon after was nearly shaken about his ears by a violent shock of earthquake. Five days later the factors were admitted to the Shogun's presence, where 'he sat alone upon a place something rising with one step, and had a silk *catabra* of a bright blue on his back. He sat upon the mats cross-legged, like a tailor; and . . . none . . . might not enter into the room where he sat' (Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 169). Then followed a long period of delay, of waiting on great men with presents, and constant conferences

¹ Hidetada, who had been nominally Shogun from 1605, though the real administration of the country remained in the hands of his father.

From the accession of the new ruler appears to date the rise of Jeddo, which had been for some time his residence. 'They have greatly augmented the city,' writes Wickham (p. 138), 'which is and will be within this twelve months twice as big as it was the last year.'

with officials. At last, on the 23rd of the month, the new grant of privileges was received. With characteristic carelessness Cocks omitted to ascertain the contents of the document handed to him, and it was only on the receipt of an alarming message from Wickham, four days after his departure from Jeddo, that he got the grant translated. He was astonished to find that Wickham's fears were justified, and that the new grant differed materially from the old one, inasmuch as, for the future, 'we were restrained to have our shipping to go to no other place in Japan but Hirado, and there to make sales.'¹

He at once hastened back to Court and 'stayed 18 or 20 days more, still suing and putting up supplications to have our privileges enlarged as before . . . yet for all this I could get nothing but words. Whereupon I desired to have the old privileges returned and to render back the new, with condition they would give us three years' respite to write into England and have answer whether our King's Majesty would be content our privileges should be so shortened or no; yet they would not grant me that.' Hopes were held out that a more favourable reply might be given if the petition were renewed the following year; and in a letter to the Daimyo of Hirado permission was given to the English to trade at Nagasaki (which had for many years been opened to foreign trade, especially from Macao) as well as at Hirado (*Diary*, vol. i., pp. 215, 316). It was necessary, however, to withdraw all the factors from Jeddo, Miako, Osaka, and Sakai, and henceforward Hirado became the sole station of the English in Japan.

This curtailment of the privileges formerly granted to the English seems to have been the result of the general reaction against foreigners and foreign influence which characterised the policy of the reigning Shogun and his advisers. A bitter persecution of the Catholic missionaries and their converts had for some time been going on—'here is boards set up in every

¹ Cocks's letters in *Diary*, vol. ii., p. 280. A translation of the fresh grant will be found at p. 140 of the present volume.

street,' writes Cocks from Jeddo (p. 171), 'with very strict order for bringing them to light, and utter ruin to them and their posterity that shall conceal them'—and the English and Dutch were suspected of being really of the same form of faith as the subjects of King Philip. Whilst the new privileges were under debate the Council sent to Cocks 'above twenty times to know whether the English nation were Christians or no' (*Diary*, vol. ii., p. 280). It was thought also that the representation of certain Japanese merchants had exercised some influence on the decision, and this appears probable from the reply made to Captain Adams when in the following year he sought in vain the restoration of the old advantages. He was told that 'the Emperor would give our English nation no larger privileges than other strangers have, only to sell our merchandise at Firando and Langasque (Nagasaki). The reason he doth it is for that his own merchants of Japan shall have the profit of selling within land before strangers, as also that under colour of buying and selling, no priests may lurk up and down his country to alter religion, as heretofore they have done' (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 312).

Commercially, the position of the factory was not encouraging. It is true that in the summer two English ships arrived at Hirado—the *Thomas* on June 22, and the *Advice* three weeks later; but the goods they brought were mostly unsuitable for the Japanese market, including as they did a quantity of 'Lime Street, Pope's Head Alley, and Bartholomew ware,' as one letter phrases it (p. 183), and buyers were few. What particularly annoyed Cocks was that, owing to Saris's sanguine reports, 'the Worshipful Company expect great matter from the factory in Japan, and money to furnish Bantam and other factories in the Indies without sending any more out of England' (p. 117). In their letters, he says, 'they urge nothing but money, money'; and money was just the hardest thing to get, or at least to keep. 'I ensure you,' wrote Cocks in December to the factor at Patani, 'I am aweary of the place;

and were it not for extraordinary hope to get trade into [China], I would rather depart from hence to-night than tarry till to-morrow' (p. 258). The one bright spot in the prospect was the success of the venture to Siam. As noted in the last volume, the *Sea Adventure* had been sent thither in December 1615, under the charge of Captain Adams and Edmund Sayers. She returned towards the end of July with a lading of sapan wood and deer-skins, which sold readily at very remunerative prices. Moreover, Sayers had been able with the money at his disposal, after filling the *Sea Adventure*, to charter two native junks, in one of which he embarked himself. After a terrible voyage, in the curso of which he himself was forced to act as pilot, he reached Satsuma on September 17. The other junk lost the monsoon and was forced to winter in Camboja, but got safely to Japan in June of the following year. This profitable venture enabled Cocks to spend a large sum in trimming and freighting the *Thomas* and *Advice* for the return voyage to Bantam; and on December 21 the *Sea Adventure* was despatched once more to Siam, William Eaton being in charge.

Relations with the Dutch factors at Hirado continued on a fairly amicable footing, though in March Cocks was much angered at the presumption of Captain Speck, who thrust in before him when they were both waiting on the Daimyo of Satsuma (p. 75). The Dutch seem to have been more successful in sales than the English, largely owing to their greater care in selecting suitable goods and the more merchant-like way in which these were packed. The English complained too, that their competitors spoiled the market by selling at a cheap rate the spoils which resulted from their piracies upon Chinese junks; and Eaton suggested (p. 266) that the English might do well to follow this example.

It is worth noting that the Dutch made extensive use of Hirado as a depôt for the war they were carrying on in the Moluccas, procuring thence not only provisions and munitions of war, but also 'succours of men both for sea and land as they

please, being a desperate, warlike people and ready to adventure for good pay' (p. 47). A futile attempt on the part of the Japanese to conquer Formosa is referred to at pp. 49, 130.

Early in the year the permanent staff in Japan was strengthened by the addition of John Osterwick, previously purser's mate in the *Osiander*. Several of his letters are included in the present volume, and he seems to have been an active and business-like member of the factory. Of the older men, Wickham, who was employed chiefly at Osaka and Miako, was discontented with his position and privileges, and inclined to take the earliest opportunity of leaving the country. At p. 134 we have a furious letter from him to Cocks, complaining that he has been 'taunted and misused both in word and action. . . . both by yourself and others,' and 'wronged by the malicious reports and slander of such as in all honesty ought to more love.' 'Every worm desires to live and if it be trodden on it will turn again'; and should not better treatment be forthcoming, 'for my part I would I were in heaven.' In May some anxiety was caused by an unfortunate incident at Akunora, a little town near Nagasaki, whither Nealson had been sent to buy timber for the new godown Cocks was building. A trifling dispute brought about a scuffle, in the course of which Nealson fatally injured a Japanese sailor from Higo. He was seized and imprisoned by the local authorities, and threats were freely used that he should be put to death; but Cocks promptly claimed that under the Emperor's grant the English were not amenable to Japanese tribunals, and after some delay Eaton was released. His native attendant, however, was made the scapegoat and lost his head, on the plea that he had 'begun the bruit.' 'All,' said Cocks indignantly, 'was about a piece of straw-cord not worth a farthing' (*Diary*, vol. i. p. 136).¹

¹ One cannot omit, in dealing with the English factory at Hirado, to call attention to the very interesting article contributed to the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* by Dr Ludwig Riess in 1898. Dr. Riess carefully examined the extant records both in the India Office and British Museum, and he has been able, moreover, to throw fresh light on the subject from Japanese official documents

The publication last year by the Hakluyt Society of a complete account of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to India renders it unnecessary to say more than will suffice to explain the seven letters from his pen which appear in the present volume. The year opened full of promise for the English envoy, whose gracious reception at Court (described by him at length on p. 10) was followed by the issue of orders which redressed the more urgent of the factors' grievances. Zúlfikár Khán was recalled in disgrace from the government of Surat, and Roe succeeded, though with some difficulty, in recovering from him the greater part of his exactions. The amount was not a large one; but the example was of the highest importance. That the favourite servant of Jahángír's favourite son should be punished in this manner was a salutary warning to other governors to give no just cause of complaint to the English merchants.

The ambassador next proceeded to carry out the main object of his mission, namely, to obtain from the Emperor a formal grant of privileges. Such a grant had been the end and aim of English diplomacy from the time when the Company's servants first set foot in India. Hawkins had waited long at Court in hopes of obtaining it; Best imagined, though erroneously,¹ that he had procured it, and his supposed success gained him for a time much favour in the eyes of the home authorities; Canning, Kerridge, Edwards—all had in turn essayed to win the imperial sanction to the Company's trade, and all had failed. But what had been refused to 'mere merchants' would, it was hoped, be conceded to a special envoy from the English monarch, and it was with great confidence of success that Roe submitted (March 26, 1616) the draft of a treaty between the Mogul and King James, which was designed to secure for the English full liberty of trade in all parts of the former's dominions, and

¹ See vol. ii., introduction, p. xxi., and Kerridge's statements on pp. 311-313 of the present volume. From the latter it appears that the English never saw the Persian rendering of the agreement, and that its validity was denied both at the Court and at Ahmaḍábád.

to ensure them freedom from the extortions which had discouraged them in the past.

To this proposal no objection was made at the time; and indeed Ásaf Khán, to whom the draft treaty was referred by the Mogul, encouraged Roe to believe that it would be agreed to without difficulty. But, apart from other obstacles (and they were not a few) the suggested treaty had to encounter the strong, though veiled, opposition of Prince Khurram, the future Emperor Sháh Jahán. Khurram was at this time in high favour with Jahángír; while through his wife he had gained the support of her father, the powerful minister Ásaf Khán, and of her aunt, the Empress Núr Mahál, whose influence over Jahángír was complete. Already he was looked upon by many as the destined successor to the throne; and he was careful to maintain by every means at his disposal the appearance of power which in the East is so large an ingredient of success. He 'sits out in the same state as his father,' writes Roe (p. 15), 'having a kingdom'; and throughout the ambassador's diary he complains of the Prince's arrogance and haughtiness. But while maintaining this show of pride (which, said Roe, was 'such as may teach Lucifer') Khurram was well aware of the insecurity of his position. Khusrú, his eldest brother, still lived, though since his rebellion (1606) he had been kept a close prisoner; and not only was he more popular than Khurram, but Jahángír himself at times showed a reawakening of affection towards his firstborn which roused strong hopes in the breasts of Khusrú's partisans. Parwíz, the second son, was drunken and incapable; but he was in command of the army and moreover might perhaps count upon the support of powerful and able chiefs like Mahábat Khán and Mirzá Abdurrahím, whose dislike to Khurram was notorious. In these circumstances the latter was all the more ready to oppose any encroachment upon his prerogatives. Surat was his own property and its administration was a matter for him and for him alone.¹ He was not prepared

¹ Jahángír took the same view, and told Roe that 'he had entrusted the place to his son and did not meddle' (p. 204).

to deny the English permission to trade (though of the two nations his sympathies were rather with their rivals the Portuguese), but they must depend upon his favour and not upon any grant from his father; while to any extension of their trade he was opposed, mainly perhaps because he feared that access to ports in Bengal and Sind would diminish the revenue from the Surat customs. To these considerations may be added an element of personal ill-will on the part of Khurram towards the English representative, who had not only procured the disgrace of the Prince's favourite, but had upon more than one occasion openly and successfully opposed the Prince himself.

For months, however, Roe was beguiled by promises of compliance with his wishes; and it was not until the beginning of September that he learned, to his surprise and vexation, that these promises were mere delusions. 'I received my Articles back from Asaph Chan,' he wrote in his journal, 'who took now at last many exceptions, and margined them with his pen in most insolent sort, scorning that any man should article at all; saying it was sufficient for me to receive a firmaen from the Prince, who was lord of Suratt, and for licence to trade at any other port, of Bengala or Syndu, it should never be granted.' As the minister 'in conclusion pretended the length and form to be such as would offend the King,' Roe made a second attempt to obtain the desired concessions in the form of a *farmán* to be accorded by Jahángír; but Ásaf Khán replied in a peremptory manner that 'absolutely he would procure nothing sealed that any way concerned the Prince's government; that I (Roe) should only expect from him what we desired, whose firmaens were sufficient.' Obviously, nothing could be done, at least for the present, in the face of such opposition; and Roe determined therefore to wait, in hope either that the Prince's power might decrease or that he might be conciliated and induced 'to effect that . . . which himself hath crossed and resisted.'

Not a single letter from Surat occurs in the O.C. series during the period under review; but fortunately the factors'

letter-book for 1616-17 has survived (*Factory Records : Surat*, vol. lxxxiv. pt. i.), and the five letters which we have extracted from this (see Appendix, Nos. I, III, V-VII), together with the references in Roe's journal and letters, give a fairly complete account of the course of affairs in that city during this eventful year.

Reference has already been made to the appointment of Kerridge in February, 1616, as chief of Surat and its dependent factories, and to the departure of Keeling's fleet in the middle of February. The next event of importance appears to have been the arrival (July 23) of a Dutch vessel, the *Nassau*, commanded by Pieter van den Broecke. The factors, much disturbed by the prospect of competition from this quarter, did their best to induce the local authorities to refuse permission to the establishment of a Dutch factory; and Roe backed up their efforts by representations at Court. But all was to no purpose. The natives knew well that the Dutch would make the refusal a pretext for retaliation upon Gujaráti shipping, and a grudging assent was therefore accorded. Van den Broecke landed a stock of merchandise, with a factor and three assistants to look after it, and the *Nassau* sailed for Bantam on August 30.

Ibráhím Khán, who had been appointed Governor of Surat upon the recall of Zúlfikár Khán, was most anxious to avoid the fate of his predecessor, and did his best, therefore, to conciliate the English merchants. This policy, however, found powerful opponents in the Díwán and Sháhbandar, who, backed up by the more fanatical portion of the populace, complained loudly (and not without reason) of the misbehaviour of the sailors of the fleet, and created disturbances which threatened to have serious consequences. One such tumult, caused by the erection on the factory of a weather-vane bearing the sign of the cross, is vividly described (p. 343) by Kerridge, who was himself for some time in danger, owing to the violence of the mob.

Throughout the summer an active correspondence went on between Roe and the Surat factors, which at times took a rather

acrimonious tone. The former had been expressly debarred by the Company from interfering in matters of merchandise ; and Kerridge, who, as Roe said, 'loved dominion,' was determined not to yield one jot of his prerogatives. The ambassador, however, was not the man to remain silent when he saw instances of mismanagement, or to refrain from tendering advice, however unpalatable, when the interests of the Company appeared to demand it. Naturally, in these circumstances, the relations between the two were far from cordial. Roe complained that the delay in sending him particulars of Zúlfikár Khán's exactions had much embarrassed him in his negotiations ; and the factors accused him in return of keeping back from them the reports of Steel and Crouther on their mission to Persia. On May 26 they wrote to the ambassador advising him, if his demands were still refused, to enforce them by seizing the Surat ships on their return from the Red Sea ; yet when Roe, half inclined to adopt this rigorous course, yet conscious that it meant putting to the hazard the Company's trade in India, required their written concurrence, he received in reply 'a formal resolution of council to abide the injuries and not to dissolve the factory contrary to their own motions severally made' (*Embassy*, p. 243). When Roe hinted that the drain of silver from Europe to feed the India trade was an evil which must in some way be counteracted, Kerridge showed plainly that he thought such views unsound, if not absurd. When the ambassador urged the despatch of factors to Sind, the Punjab, and (overland) to Bengal, the factors were ready with objections ; and when he suggested a removal from Surat to Broach or some other town outside the Prince's jurisdiction, they declared the transfer inadvisable. In short, as Roe complained, he got nothing but 'contradictions to whatsoever motion I made in my opinion for the advancement of the Company's affairs ; wherein I saw they took more pleasure to argue than to execute, and to show their wit and authority than to yield to anything not of their own propounding, their reasons being a mist of errors' (*ibid.*) •

These unfortunate differences culminated in the autumn in a direct defiance of Roe's wishes (and, as he maintained, of his manifest authority) by the despatch of a vessel to open up trade with Persia. On September 24, a new fleet from England, under the charge of Captain Pepwell, anchored at Swally. On the way out they had overtaken, near the Comoro Islands, a large Portuguese carrack bound for Goa, and after a desperate fight, in which the English Commander, Benjamin Joseph, was killed, had driven her ashore, where her crew set her on fire and escaped to land. These ships brought Kerridge an active ally in Edward Connock, the chief merchant, while at the same time the addition thus made to the stock of broadcloth and other unsaleable goods strengthened his determination to find if possible a fresh outlet for such merchandise on the Persian coast. As we have seen in a previous volume, the exploring mission of Steel and Crouther to Ispahan had been initiated at Surat, and the factors were eager to gain the credit of the successful opening in that direction which was promised by their delegates. Roe, however, looked upon the question as primarily one of politics, and as he was accredited not only to the Great Mogul but also to the kings of 'the bordering nations,' he was determined to keep the reins in his own hands. By the middle of February, 1616, he knew that Sir Robert Sherley had been despatched by the Shah on a second mission to Madrid to offer a monopoly of the silk trade to King Philip; and he at once sent letters overland to the Company urging them to do their best to frustrate this design by official representations at the Spanish Court, while at the same time he addressed a respectful remonstrance to the Shah himself, pointing out the perils of allowing the Portuguese to become masters of his coast and pressing him to establish a free port and throw open the trade to all comers. Until the effects of these two letters were manifest, Roe thought it not only useless but positively mischievous to make any further attempt; especially as the Persian coast districts were poor and barren, and the Portuguese power at Ormus was a permanent menace to any but a strong fleet.

Kerridge and Connock, however, took quite another view. Their arguments will be found on p. 189, where are recorded the proceedings of a consultation on the question held at Swally on October 2, 1616. Pepwell produced a letter from Roe, which 'for many pretended unanswerable reasons did earnestly persuade to desist'; but it was calmly set aside with the remark that 'in regard His Lordship in other particulars of his said letter is far transported (in error of opinion) concerning merchandising and merchants' affairs in these parts, makes us assured that he is no less transported from and concerning this Persian employment.' After 'debatement and full consideration,' the factors decided to send a ship to Jask without delay, and Connock was appointed chief of the expedition, with five assistants. The *James* was accordingly laden and despatched (November 8th), and early in the following month the factors landed safely at Jask. They were well received by the local officials, who, however, referred them to the governor of the province, then resident at Míнау. To him, therefore, Connock repaired with four of the other factors. The Governor used them 'with much respect, promising that wherein he might assist us in the furtherance of our businesses he would not be wanting' (p. 283), and the energetic Connock at once posted back to the ship to supervise the landing of the cargo. Here, however, we must leave him, and reserve for the next volume the narrative of his journey to the Persian court, and his interview with the celebrated Sháh Abbás.

The task of transcribing the documents here printed—several of which were very difficult to decipher, owing to their decayed condition—has been performed with great efficiency by Miss E. B. Sainsbury. The index is also the work of that lady. In preparing some of the notes, the Editor has had the assistance of Dr. Aston, C.M.G., Professor Heeres, and other gentlemen whose friendly services have been acknowledged more fully in the following pages. He has, however, to offer his special thanks to Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., for several valuable notes and

suggestions; and to Mr. A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E., under whose general superintendence this series is being published, and who has not only contributed to the present volume the translation from the Persian printed on p. 141, but has throughout paid particular attention to the correct spelling of Oriental names.



THE
'ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE'

SECTION OF THE

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S
RECORDS

VOL. IV.



332

William Eaton to Richard Wickham at Osaka.
Sackea¹ in Japon, the 2nd of January, 1615 [1616].



MOST loving friend Mr. Wickham, I commend me unto
you.

You shall understand that at my coming to Sackea
I received several letters from Captain Cocks and
withal one for yourself,² the which hereinlosed I have sent you.
He makes account that you are come away from hence before
this time and looks for your coming to Firando every day.

¹ Sakai, which must be discriminated from Osaka. 'Right over against Osaka, on the other side of the River, lieth another great Town called Sacay, but not so big as Osaka, yet is it a town of great trade for all the islands thereabout' (Saris in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 371).

² 'I wrote 2 letters to Mr. Wickham and Mr. Eaton, dated the 18th and 20th present, but kept till this day, and sent per the servant of Safian Dono.'—*Cocks's Diary*, under date of December 22, 1615.

He writes of another letter that he sent you enclosed in a letter to me the first of December¹ and sent by a Chena, which letter is not as yet come to my hands. He writes me nothing of Damian nor of the other, but my woman tells me that they are both gone in the junk for Syam with Captain Adames, who departed from Firando the 7th ultimo. The bark hath brought now of goods, viz. of lead 9,170 cattes, pepper 6,108½ cattes, and of wax 6,061 cattes, but of other goods not anything. The Emperor hath not bought anything of these goods.

Concerning your woman² it proveth untrue, and there is no such matter, as the Captain writes me, but only a piece of knavery done by the Dutch, setting on a knave to write a letter and to cast it into the house to bring her name in question. The matter was so followed that the knave was found out and forced to ask her forgiveness; otherwise, if it had proceeded before the justice, it had cost him his life. My woman doth likewise tell me as much.

I purpose to be with you, God willing, at supper. And thus for present, being in haste, I end, resting always

Your loving friend to command,

Wm. Eaton.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, this dd. in Osekay.



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John Jourdain to Richard Wickham at Firando, the 12th January,
1615 [1616].

Original of the first of the two letters given under No. 279
(vol. iii., p. III.)³

¹ Not extant.

² See vol. iii., pp. 253, 279.

³ The dates of the two versions differ, but that given above is evidently the correct one (cp. the reference to the sailing of the *Thomas*, and the entry in Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 151).

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William Nicholls to the Agent at Bantam.¹

In Achin, this 15th of January, 1615 [1616].



IR, It may please you, whereas our pretended voyage was to trade at Tecoo, not doubting of any interruption, it so proved that both Poonleema and Governor of Tecoo was come hither for Achein; and by that the King of Achein had great store of goods in the hands of Ponleema of Pryaman to sell, he might not permit us trade; that rather than to return to Bantan again with our cargazon of decayed goods or attempt to trade at Cotatinga without licence from the King (which might move his displeasure, to the Company's future loss of trade in his kingdom), we chose as best to come hither, where after great hazard of loss of ship and goods by the master's neglect in his watch, that if I had not by God's providence discovered the danger, so that we came to an anchor all sails standing, we had been upon rocks sleeping; for notwithstanding my first discovery, our anchor being but apeak, we sailed within a boat's length of rocks where was but four foot of water in the dawning of the day; I say the 22nd² of June anno 1615 we arrived here, where the Hector was at an anchor from Seratt and had procured promise of His Majesty's letter to trade to Tecoo and Pryaman, provided they remained in the road with their ship during their trade; also their letter had this proviso likewise, that if His Majesty's own goods were sold, then to have admittance of trade there, which last clause I am assured would cost a large bribe; for although they may have sold His Majesty's goods, my experience of those people's dealings tells me they will pretend the contrary except a bribe. All which I uttered to the merchants of the Hector; but ultra posse non est esse; they could procure no other and I passed my assumed

¹ This is a rough copy. It contains Nicholls' account of the visit of the *Thomas* to Tiku and Achin, of which so much has been said in the preceding volume.

² In a subsequent letter (p. 22) Nicholls says the 20th. In vol. iii. the date is variously given as the 20th (pp. 210, 224), the 21st (p. 217), and 'about the 22nd' (p. 188).

knowledge only. And whereas they were borne in hand by a false Turk here that they might lade their ship there in two or three months, to which I affirmed the contrary, having had sufficient knowledge by my fifteen months abode there; yet notwithstanding my words were as wind then, although I dare say by this time approved true, that if they continued there six months they would hardly procure half her lading. At length we grew to a council and by that the Hector's merchants had procured the King's letter already, their voyage could not be resigned to us, but if we would deliver our goods aboard them they would sell them; which if their manner of grant from His Majesty had been good and not such injunctions limited therein (as to abide with a ship of such charge in the road during their trade) had been fittest so to have done; but in conclusion of our council we would endeavour first and prove if we might prevail to settle at Tecoo for two years; if not, after a few days spent we would leave this place and deliver our goods aboard them in the road of Tecoo and so return for Bantam. If otherwise we did procure such a grant, contrary to all their opinions, then they should deliver their goods aboard the Thomas and make sail for Bantam, leaving [a] merchant out of the Hector for assistance. Also, before the Hector's departure from this place, it was concluded by council that Mr. Jouxson and myself should remain here for sale of some fine goods and better direction of future merchants that shall arrive here; which is greatly material, for to come here still as strangers breeds but strange reckonings of loss to the Company, for what a world of presents the Hector's merchants gave here for the procuring of a letter of no importance, besides their long chargeable stay here and loss of 24 or 25 men; which proceeded from the difference amongst themselves here, which I spared not to tell them of at my arrival, having been informed by some of my old acquaintance in Tecoo and own broke[r] that their own dissensions caused them to be dejected in their business and no account made of them without continual bribes; which I sparing not to tell them, have procured their hatred, which for matters of truth uttered by me I weigh not.

Moreover Scratt goods are well sold here and will vent in abundance. Only here are no returns of any large sum to be

employed, unless a factory at Messepotan¹; then is there brimstone, camphor, benjamin and raw silk of this country, which merchants of that place at their ships' yearly arrival here do buy up and carry thither. So is it that two thousand tales may be yearly sent hence for Bantam in Coast² commodities to cento per cento profit; viz. I have bought Tappie Chindas at 2½ tale the courge: sellimbot Irassir at 18 taylor 12 mass the courge: Tappie Serrassirs fine at 8 tale the courge: steel, called Leda Courboo,³ five thousand pieces at 10½ mass per hundred: which are all fit and profitable goods for Bantam; that upon my full having bought at our next ships' arrival here for Bantam I will, God willing, send it by. Also I have bought a sort of steel called Besse Mallella,⁴ viz. six thousand pieces at 4 taylor per hundred, and can here sell it for 5 forthwith; but I knowing it to be a principal vendible commodity at Tecoo, worth 18 rials per hundred at least, do purpose to keep it until opportunity of conveyance by our own shipping.

To my matter again: at my approach to the King I acquainted him that I had remained at Tecoo (left there per General Best) fifteen months and was so inbred to the conditions of those people that to trade with a ship would not quit charge, and unless His Majesty would please to grant us trade for two years there, I desired answer of our King's letter and would return for Bantam, from whence we came. He granted me one year forthwith; so I importuned two years, inferring that through confidence of our peace and His Majesty's goodwill towards our nation we bought those sorts of goods in Suratt to trade in his kingdom. So he gave me two years time for sale of the Thomas's goods only, but, afterward some twenty days, he would allow me but one year; whereupon I boldly told him of his promise, being a King, which caused me to spend so much time, otherwise for one year I would not have spent one day in this pursuit. Thus revoking his promise, I demanded his chapp⁵ for our departure, which is an ordinary custom and was forthwith produced. In fine I gave

¹ Masulipatam.

² Coromandel Coast.

³ By 'leda' is probably meant 'lela,' an abbreviation of *malela*, a Javanese word for steel.

⁴ See vol. iii., pp. 234, 334.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

obeisance and returned to my tent, being at Ladonge,¹ in his way to Mallacca, five leagues eastward from this road. On the morrow I went to take my leave of Laxaman,² to whom all strangers' business are resigned. I also told him that if a merchant had promised ought to me in way of bargaining he must either stand to his word or I would seek justice from him, but a King to say one thing and do another, it is his great dishonour, and my bad fortune that ever he promised me. Whereupon he went to the court and moved the King of his promise and my words, that the King said: It is true I promised him, and let him have it for two years. So that you may understand the course of business here and manner of the King's dealing, I thought good for once to recite; and what will be obtained after the expiration of the two years is as yet uncertain, for in that business I have many opposites here, by that these nobles were wont to buy cloth here and send their servants for Tecoo and Pryman to their great profits, which if we obtain continual trade there will be frustrated.

The last of July 1615 I returned from Ladonge to Achcin with the King's letter to remain at Tecoo the term of two years, having been absent fifteen days. Here I found my fellow Mr. Jouxson very sick of a flux, who the 10th of August died, that myself and Abraham Bond, purser's mate of the Thomas, remain here. The 16th ditto the Thomas brake ground and departed this road for Tecoo. Since which time here hath arrived four ships from the Coast, viz. from the 1st of October to the 10th two from Negapotan, one from Cullmat and ³ Messepotan, all fraught with rice and many sorts of white cloth, steel and paintathas.⁴ The ship from Meslepotan is at least 600 ton, in which came an ambassador named Duria Con, of whom I bought my foresaid steel Besse Mallella; and being grown acquainted well with him, I questioned touching the bad usage Mr. Floris found there, by his moneys detained from him by the Governor, that if he had not taken

¹ Ladoeng, on the N. coast of Sumatra.

² This appears to be a title (from the Malay *laksamana*) given to the commander of the Achinese forces (see *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 819). This individual has been mentioned several times in the preceding volume.

³ And one from ?

⁴ Pintadoes.

his son per force aboard he would not have paid him¹; all which he acknowledged to be true, vowing to me that since Mr. Floris his departure thence the King, having heard of that his usage, turned him out of office and fined him one thousand pegodes. So, saith he, the English may trade, by factory there, as freely as the Flemings or any other nation. When you send for the Coast it will be good that the ship touch here, bringing some purslane² of the largest size, platters and others, fine and coarse, gold twist of the largest size skeins, taftas the best, red, black and some blues, so is there a mingled coloured dye which the Chinas bring there called Seda Lingam, worth here 3 and 4 taylor the catte. Three cattles of China makes two cattles of this place. Also besides the profit that may be made by those said goods, here may they take in brimstone, benjamin and camphor, all fit and like profit to be made by them at Meslepotan, that the time they shall spend may not be accounted as lost here.

Also I pray, Sir, advise of the worth of all sorts of payntathas there, with steel and iron of all sorts, also all sorts of white cloth, I mean such as is brought from any part of the Coast to that place; for in traffic some sorts are good, others better; which accordingly I may furnish from hence at those Coast ships' arrival, by that this coined gold here is current in no other parts; only some 25 taylor per cent to be gained by carrying it to any part of the Coast.

It grieves me that we having so sweet a trade at Serratt do not make the best use thereof by their not knowledge of the vendiblest commodity in this place and coast, and that we trust to the sending of our letters by strangers, which never comes to their hands at Serratt; for whereas Captain Jourdain sent a packet of letters by the sheriff³ of Bantam bearing date the 27th of May, 1614,⁴ the said sheriff having been at Meslepotan is returned hither with the letters to me, saying he could not hear of any that travelled to Serratt. So that in my doubtful opinion (which in such cases is ever best) a man may send forty letters and it is a great question if one comes to their hands.

¹ See vol. ii., p. 294, and vol. iii., p. 130.

² Porcelain.

³ 'Shroff' is probably meant.

⁴ Not extant.

I have writ¹ of the vendiblest Serratt commodities in this place and coast and aim to send it by one that goeth thither by way of Messlepotan, promising him that the merchants there upon his delivery [of] it shall pay him 20 rials. But to prevent the loss of yearly profits that may be made if they of Serratt had knowledge, I hold it best to send or that I may go with another in company overland from Messlepotan, as I understand for certain two Holland merchants are gone thence overland to Serratt²; by which I can give advice of all sorts and condition of goods, so to return by the next ships that shall come for this coast thence; which would be not only one present voyage's profit, but future benefit to the Honourable Company apparent to be seen, if God should send me safe to arrive there.

Pepper here is at 8 taylor [] dram³ the baharr: benjamin at 7 cattes the taylor: brimstone at 3 taylor the baharr: camphor at 5 taylor the catte: raw silk of this country, which is of colour yellow, at 80 taylor the baharr. My purpose is to engross benjamin, brimstone and camphor after these Coast ships' departure, which will be about the first of March next; my reason being grounded on good hope for having a factory at Meslepotan; and if not, at the farthest I can make profit here of those commodities at the arrival of the Coast shipping hither. Only my stock is small by the half of my goods yet remaining unsold, viz. fine whites and coarse. Howbeit, I hope for supply from Serratt in April next; which God grant, and send you good event in business there.

Your Worships' at command,

William Nicolls.

Endorsed : Sent to Bantam by Quey Sequen, cape merchant of a small junk.

¹ See p. 21.

² See p. 33.

³ Cp. p. 70. Evidently by a 'dram' Nicholls means a *mas*, which, it will be remembered, was the one-sixteenth part of a *tael* (ounce).



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Sir Thomas Roe to the East India Company.¹

Adsmere, 25th of January, 1615 [1616].

MY honoured Friends, My last letters, dated from Bram-pore the 24th of November,² which you shall receive with these, will give you some account of my time spent and opinion of your business; but every day adds some knowledge, and ripeness either enlargeth or retracteth counsel.

It pleased not God to give me health nor hope of recovery in that place, and though I was so weak that the second night I was forsaken of those about me as a dead man, without dissimulation I chose rather to end my life in the high way, if so pleased God, than to hazard an opinion that I lingered and neglected your business and the content you might receive, and I had hope to procure, in the manifold abuses toward your servants in all their residences. My weakness was such as I could not make great journeys; yet I rested but two days and one perforce. I rose in the cold air before day for the most part, and so in 27 days (December 24) I arrived at Adsmere, with a new ague that took me in the way. I was met by Mr. Edwards and the English of this factory, one day's journey; who had fitted, with as much conveniency as the place will afford, his house for me.

I was so far from being able to present myself before the King that I could not stand but was lifted even to my bed, of which I advised the King, and hereby had good leisure to repair many things decayed in the coach and to advise of somewhat else. It

¹ This is the original letter. There is a copy in Roe's letter book (Brit. Mus. Addl. MS. 6115, f. 70), and another (initialled by the ambassador) among the O.C. Duplicates at the India Office. The latter is evidently a copy sent home by Roe in a subsequent letter, for he has added some marginal comments which are clearly of later date; these have been printed here as insets.

The three versions have been compared, and as a result a few corrections have been made in the text.

This letter has been printed in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. i., and in *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 118; but in both cases only a part of it has been given.

² See *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 93.

pleased him to send a gentleman to see me with two wild hogs within a week ; I think to satisfy himself of my delay ; after he was well content I should take leisure. Within six days my two agues forsook me, and by the 10th of January I recovered so much strength as to sit on a horse ; and, having demanded leave, presented myself to the King, having first desired him to be pleased that I should use the customs of my nation and of an Ambassador from a Christian King, wherein I would do him all right, and the change of fashion would not be unpleasant. He sent me word I was welcome and had free liberty to do what seemed convenient to me without exception.

He prevented me in speech, bidding me welcome as to the brother of the King my master ; and after many compliments I used some words to him, delivering his Majesty's letter and showing my commission, the copy whereof (I mean the letter) I then also delivered in Persian ; after that your presents, to say, the coach, the virginals, the knives, a scarf all richly embroidered, and a rich sword of mine own. The reason why I altered your present shall in a fitter place be mentioned. He sitting in his state could not well discern the coach, but sent many to see it ; and caused the musician to play on the virginals there, which gave him good content. Thus with many good words of his affection to the King's Majesty and our nation, bidding me require anything of him wherein we were yet wanting concerning your establishment here, or for redress of any injury if it should be offered, and he would grant it, and see our causes righted. The King was doubtless ignorant of all the abuses of Suratt, having never been complained to. He then bade me go home and recover more strength before I came abroad, offering me his physicians and such courtesies ; and so I took leave.

At night he having stayed the coachman and musician, he came down into a court, got into the coach, into every corner, and caused it to be drawn about by them. Then he sent to me (though ten o'clock at night) for a servant to tie on his scarf and sword the English fashion, in which he took so great pride that he marched up and down, drawing it and flourishing, and since hath never been seen without it. So that in conclusion he accepted your presents well. But after the English were come

away, he asked the Jesuit whether the King of England were a great king, that sent presents of so small value, and that he looked for some jewels. To this purpose was I often felt by some, before I saw him, whether I had brought jewels or no; but rarities please as well, and if you were furnished yearly from Francford (where are all knacks and new devices), 100*l.* would go farther than 500*l.* laid out in England, and here better acceptable. And seeing I am in the speech of presents, I will tell you what I find: that this country is marred with I know not what indulgence of too much giving, and so ill a precedent is made everywhere that it will cost you dear to follow. One toy or two in the beginning would have served; now so many have been so liberally offered to like idols, and to no purpose, and every business done by bribes, that I, that have nothing to give, am enforced to alter the whole course, lest it appear poverty. I hoped to have found some help of Mr. Edwards, because you gave direction that I should write him to stay his hand till my coming up; but he had finished his store before I landed, and you well know I have nothing, no, nor the General, of value, but the five first designed, the coach, virginals, etc.; for though many things were delivered me by the General, yet they are not fit to give, either decayed or not esteemed, and I have re-delivered most to your factors to sell. You desire me to be always furnished, but here it is impossible; what I have of mine own shall be employed in your service. But seeing Sultan Coronne is lord of the port where yet your residence is like to be, he is not to be neglected, for his favour is as necessary for you as the King's, and for the present more; therefore I hope you will take it into your consideration. There is nothing more welcome here, nor ever saw I man so enamoured of drink as both the King and Prince are of red wine, whereof the Governor of Suratt sent up some pottle. Ever since the King hath solicited for more. I think four or five handsome cases of that wine will be more welcome than the richest jewel in Cheapside. Pictures large, on cloth, the frames in pieces; but they must be good, and for variety some story with many faces, for single to the life hath been more usual. If the Queen must be presented (which I will not advise to, and do purpose, as well out of necessity as judgment, to break this custom of daily

bribing) fine needlework toys, fair bone lace, cut work, and some handsome wrought waistcoat, sweet bags or cabinets will be most convenient. Other things I have sent a note of in my last; only I would add: any fair China bedsteads, or cabinets, or trunks of Japan, are here rich presents. Lately the King of Bisampore¹ sent his ambassador with thirty-six elephants (two with all their chains of wrought beaten gold, two of silver, the rest brass) and forty rich furnished horses, with jewels to the value of ten lecks of rupias; yet withal he sent China ware and one figure of crystal, which the King accepted more than that mass of wealth. I would wish you to spare sending scarlet; it is dear to you and no better esteemed here than stamel. The scarlet you sent now, besides the spot which you mentioned in the making up, there were stitches taken in the crests with silk which tore some holes; so that, besides the King cared not for it, as Mr. Edwards informed me, it was very unfit to give, but must serve in remnants for some others whom I must needs use, and a little follow the custom; and that was the reason I was enforced to present my scarf and sword, for which, and for whatsoever I shall be able to dispose of, I will ask nothing until my return, when you shall see the particulars and use me at your discretion. But I assure you, had I been the first here I would have held them up to another tune than give, give, and I will endeavour to alter it, as you shall perceive I have begun.

Further, besides the ill precedent of giving, this place is either made, or of itself unfit for an ambassador. I speak against myself, but I will inform truth. For though they understand the quality, yet they have much ado to understand the privileges which that quality with us doth require; the rather because they have ever been sought to humbly, and they expect as much of me; but they shall be deceived. I stand upon myself, and yet find good effects of it; but if I cannot change the ill customs begun, and set the business upright without base creeping and bribing (which one year's experience will show), then I shall roundly advise you, as the best course, never to send an ambassador more hither, both because he may not dishonourably attend at their doors, nor suffer such affronts as they barbarously often use, without injury

¹ See *The Embassy*, p. 111.

to the King, and if he cannot be righted his discontent will prejudice your business ; besides, the charge which you are at in maintaining him, bestowed in presents (if that course must be proceeded in), will effect more than his countenance. And an agent may with no dishonour sue and go to their houses ; for were it here as in other parts, that after an ambassador had moved the King, his secretary or some other might solicit the business, it were somewhat ; but here a man must go himself, be refused at the doors, wait on base persons, and undergo a thousand indignities unfit for a quality that represents a King's person. But of this one year's experience will make a full trial, and I am resolved to prove what another course will do.

Another terrible inconvenience I suffer : want of an interpreter ; for the brokers here will not speak but what shall please ; yea, they would alter the King's letter, because his name was before the Mogull's, which I would not allow. But if we had one of our own nation that were of understanding and could in good terms deliver himself, I could effect more than ever I shall by these, that speak not what I command but what they conceive is fit, by example of others that have ever sought to content and not to contest, which is here very needful and works as well as physic. And at this present, when I had commission to propose and draw what I please, I cannot do nothing, an Armenian that used to write in Persian (for so are all that passeth the King) being absent.

After I had visited the King and received content in my entertainment, I took this course : Asaph Chan did expect some great present for himself and the Queen, as I understood (they did expect ten times as much from me as from Mr. Edwards, and spake it openly : that now an ambassador was come, a great man, they should receive proportionable gifts) ; and as he is the chiefest man with the King, so is he in faction with Sultan Coronne (who hath married his daughter), and Normall, the beloved wife of the King, is sister to Asaph Chan ; so they are linked together, govern the King and carry business so that no complaint should be made whereby the King might be angry with Sultan Coronne, and thus have persuaded silence from demanding justice of the King ; and Sultan Coronne himself was not apt to do any, because he had a ship to set out for the Red Sea and was willing to wink, yea, to

encourage his ministers to molest and hinder the despatch of our fleet until his ship were clear, because their countenance did protect it from the frigates [while our ships are here]¹; which when I understood, I sent to Asaph Can (as if I had been ignorant of this course and faction) this message: that he should not expect I came in the fashion nor that I would follow the steps of those before me, who had given very largely, hoping to procure good usage for the English, at least protection from open violence and wrong: but that I found our people so many ways injured in their persons and goods in all their several residences, especially at Suratt, that I was resolved to give nor bribe no longer: that the King did send me hither to his master to confirm the league and to protect his subjects by mediation to him: that the gain of the merchants was not worth the injuries and delays they suffered, nor the trade fit to be continued on so unworthy conditions: that I was loth to do anything that might prejudice Sultan Coronne, and that my respect to him had retarded my resolution of complaining: but that I must obey my master and perform that wherefore I was employed, and therefore was enforced against my will to present to His Majesty a paper containing all the several wrongs done to our fleet and factory at Suratt: how often we had sought redress and could find none: that the example there gave courage to the Governor of Amadavaz to take the same course: that therefore, according to the league and amity between His Majesty and my master, and agreeable to the articles signed by him (to whose performance his honour stood engaged), I did require speedy justice against the said Governor, and redress in all the particulars, or to grant me licence to depart and draw all our people peaceably out of his dominion; desiring Asaph Chan to prepare the King, and to design me a time when were best opportunity to deliver this.

Asaph Chan, seeing me so round, went speedily to Sultan Coronne and informed him of my resolution; where it seems they agreed on better ways and he returned me this answer: that he had acquainted the Prince with my purpose and complaints: that the Prince desired me not to make it known to his father: that he was utterly ignorant hereof: and that if I would come to

¹ Added from the duplicate.

him (who sits out in the same state as his father, having a kingdom) he would use me with all good respect: that he would do me justice upon the person of the Governor: that he should pay the utmost penny: and that whatsoever I would propound for the benefit of our factory he would sign and see it effected.

This message pleased me well and was that I aimed at, for I was loth to complain and set all on one cast; the faction I knew was too strong; but now I had my end. I gave the Prince thanks and promised to wait upon him; of which I was hindered by a hunting voyage till the 22nd of January, at which time I went. He, being not ready nor purposed to sit out, sent his principal officer to entertain me and to take more particular knowledge of the abuses¹; who brought me into a good room, a thing never done before, and there took notes out of my paper of every material point; and within an hour the Prince came out and sent for me; and, whereas he is esteemed proud and our enemy, he used me with more courtesy than ever I saw or expected here. I made him such a present as I was able, which he very well accepted. But withal I told him the King could not take knowledge of his being Lord of Suratt and that therefore these presents were not sent by His Majesty but by the Company, who always commanded a good respect to be carried towards him; but that I doubted not, when His Majesty understood of it, he would send to him according to his worth. He told me he was sorry for our injuries past: that they never came to his knowledge: that whatsoever I would require of him in satisfaction, or for the time to come, it should be willingly granted. He was pleased to take notice of many of the wrongs publicly and said the Governor should answer them dearly, as of ill words spoken of His Majesty, of taking goods perforce, whereof he hath required a roll, both of yours and

This was honey-moon,² and he expected as good a present as his father.

¹ Cp. vol. iii., p. 182. For the interview with the Prince, see *The Embassy*, p. 114.

² As explained in the *New English Dictionary*, this word had originally no reference to the period of a month, but compared the mutual affection of newly-married persons to the changing moon, which is no sooner full than it begins to wane; cp. Blount's *Glossogr.* (1656): '*Honymoon*, applyed to those marryed persons that love well at first and decline in affection afterwards; it is hony now, but it will change as the moon.'

private men,¹ for which he promised present satisfaction. When he was ready to depart, he referred me to his chief officer for effecting my desire and said, whereas also he was informed that the Governor of Suratt had taken from me certain basins (the French ones)² and sent them to him, though he did not excuse the insolence of the Governor, yet he did accept them now as sent from me. So he gave me leave to return.

The propositions I intend will require some good advice and are not suddenly of use, your fleet being ready to go and having endured all they can endure. Therefore I only drew a short but strict command for the present redress, to send speedily away, which is despatched. But I must formally now proceed to renew the articles and to make many additions, to be signed both by the King and Prince, and doubt not your next fleet shall find new effects.

For the abuses of Amadavaz, I likewise informed Asaph Chan, who encouraged me to complain, it being absolute under the King. The 24th I went to His Majesty, presenting your clock and two other trifles. He beckoned me so soon as he saw me, commanding that, whereas all men stay in his sight till they solemnly send up for leave, that I should not be stayed. When I came up he asked of my health and what I had to demand of him. I informed him of the abuses of Amadavaz (the particulars whereof, because you shall at large understand, I have sent you Thomas Kerridge's letters, first to Mr. Edwards, after to me, whereby you may judge how your people are ransacked). He gave present order to release the custom pretended: to repay the 500 rupees taken by injustice: and an effectual command for their quiet residence.

The Governor of Suratt is displaced (as is pretended, for these causes, but it is true he is on the way hither) and Hoyja Hassan in his room, who hath directly hired it. He sent to offer to visit

me, which I expect daily. He was our old enemy and fears my opposition. He was present when I complained to the Prince, and saw the good effects, for which I was not sorry; for if we

¹ See *infra*, No. 353.

² See *The Embassy*, pp. 83, 84.

meet I will deal plainly with him, that if he use not our people according to justice, I will not spare to use all my credit against him.

Thus you have what hath passed at Court; and I hope to scramble out by a new way. Yet Asaph Chan hath been so faithful and diligent, both in the business of Suratt and of Amadavaz, that after it was effected I sent him a present, and a good one, though not answerable to former; but withal this message, by Francis Fettiplace, that it was sent from the Company directly to him, who, having taken notice of his former good affection to our nation, gave me particular order to have him in especial regard. But if presents might have been had without complaints and at more ease, I had never had any amendment.

I will now say somewhat of your factors and goods. How they have been used at Suratt my last, and some that return, will inform you; it will be needless here. Whereby you may perceive either nothing done, or the wrong way at Court; for ordinary firmaes are not worth a halfpenny. But how they use you in all parts, lest it should not by others, I will be plain. I bear here a place of envy. You are wise and sworn to secrecy; I care not if anything I write were printed; yet it were more convenient that what informations you receive for your good, the authors should be concealed; and if any man have a friend that he would justify, he may use friendship to him without injury to another.

First, here hath been last year a faction and general hatred among all your servants, few speaking well one of another, and crossing your business, so that, to your extreme prejudice, not one pound of any sort of goods was bought at our arrival. The principal division was all, except one Robert Young and Uflett, were against Mr. Edwards; and there are many material complaints made, with which I will not meddle, because it is without my limits and the General undertakes the examination. Only this I may say: it were strange if one of his reputation would lose himself and that so quickly, and in his answers to me, by way of discourse, he is very confident of his innocency. But he in one year will return with more gain than I shall do in my whole time, and it were as strange if all others should maliciously join to accuse him falsely without some ground; which Captain Keeling I doubt

not will discern. For his usage and respect and preparation for me, it was with all due, and care more than I expected.

For the misdemeanour of Mittford¹ toward him, I must avow it worthy of punishment, though it seems much provoked. Yet in other business of yours I understand not but he hath done good service.

But generally your cashiers, I fear, are out; and at Agra, where the best indigo² is to be found, only Robert Young, a man of small experience, doth the business. And when Mittford and

This is the abuse of the broker mentioned to have cozened them of two or three thousand rup.

Charles Clarke went up now to Agra to assist these investments, they bought on the way, for their own account, very good at 18 rupias; whereas at Agra Robert Young wrote it cost 28 rup [ias], but I understand but 24. Besides it was so huddled that a Dutchman told me he saw it mingled with worse—for what purpose I know not.

Here lie 100³ glasses unsold, the foiling not amended, though Young were here six months in the house and all the tools, which had been fitter employment than for the buying your indigo, as I am informed. However, if I had authority I would send for him and make him mend them. If it were done, they would sell; as they are, they come all to loss. Here is none else taught the skill. But indeed you must send better and stronger in the backs if you send glasses to sell; for nothing will pass here but good, and in them is most gain. Your cloth will off

Glasses will not vent but one in a quarter, save (?) rich for presents.

very heavily; and the swords (especially ordinary ones), if they will bend and not stand they will sell; if they stand no man will look on them. I fear this place is fitted with that commodity for some four or five years, the General having bought all in the fleet at sea, hoping to make profit; but if you make your own in five years I think it the best of the bargain. In the last fleet came great quantities of swords, which hath killed your market for these, some landing fifteen dozen, some ten; and in ours, I guess,

¹ See vol. iii., p. 299.

² The other two copies read 'annill.'

³ The text has 200, but the duplicate has 100, and the B.M. copy has evidently been corrected from the higher to the lower figure.

are bought to your use at least two thousand of the merchants and ship's company. Judge you when these will off.

I would advise you to bestow three or four hundred pounds at least in curious toys, rich glasses, figures, French toys, cabinets embroidered, scarfs embroidered, swords with fair cut and inlaid hilts, broad blades—whatsoever is curious work and rich. And pack them well and safe, commanding to set them in a cabin, not under the decks, and to be often looked to; these to be sent to your factory at Court, wheresoever residing. For here is a custom in March, called the Norose,¹ when all the subjects of the Mogull make him presents, the rarest every man can find, to procure the more favour and acceptance. Trust me, they will off in one month all, yea, if it were a thousand pounds in rich knacks, at five, ten, twenty, yea, forty for one profit. At this time they come daily to inquire for curiosities to furnish themselves, and I could have sold some things at the rate. These must pass, in the name of presents, with your presents, lest they be sacked at Suratt; and I will take order for my time and set example for the future, that nothing coming under that title shall once be opened, but sent right to your leiger. But then you must distinguish your presents you intend to give from them by special direction, or else you may have a leiger who will make other use of them.

There was a debt owing Mr. Hawkyins,² when he came away, of two thousand rupces, but of your goods, unaccounted to you; which when he saw he was not like to recover before his departure, he gave it away, as is pretended, a thousand to his father-in-law, a Dutchman, five hundred to the broker, and five hundred to another. The money since is honestly paid.* I know not why you should lose it. And since I speak of debts, advise your factors to arrest those that owe them. Many ill debts are made for fear to prosecute law, under one pretence or other; but that custom will in time wrong you. Let them use the privilege of law without fear; for my time I will warrant it.

Finally, whereas I promised you an account of my charge when I arrived at Adsmere, my sickness hath so hindered me that

¹ Cp. vol. iii., p. 309.

² Captain William Hawkins (see vol. i. p. xxix).

* This is now denied, and but 200 confessed; with that I know they pass clear.

I cannot perform it. But first I may tell you everything is as dear here as in London. A small sheep will cost three rupees and a half; the stable is very dear; pcons a custom (and necessary) of great charge. Yet in all these I will confidently say I will pass for less than ever any household you kept in proportion; and I have looked into some week-books (and am ashamed of it, especially the reckonings of stable), which will shortly come to your hands, and then compare them with mine, number for number.

I have taken an inventory of Mr. Boughton's¹ goods and have delivered to your factory here, for which I have bills of exchange, 1,200 royalls of eight. I pray let it be paid his executor, if he show sufficient discharge. If I had purposed to have dealt like all men you employ, I could have made use and great profit of this money and not have been seen in it. Other goods and trifles of his are sold, and some money and some plate remains in my hands (but no great matter), for which I will account with his executor. There is a small trunk of his sent home, wherein are (as I suppose) 100*l.* at least of calicoes bought at Suratt. I pray let it be examined and inquired after, lest it be embezzled away. What fell into my hands shall be exactly accounted for. All had been lost but for my especial care.

Thus I have scrambled at somewhat, according to my experience. Accept my good intentions, which are to do all faithful service and plain and open. I shall return poor by it, for I never yet had anything bestowed on me but a few hogs and one hind. I have spent of mine own 200*l.* at least. Clothes and stuffs are here twice as dear as in Cheapside,² if they be not pintadoes or striped bald taffeties. Good silks cost 10 rupees their cobda, and mean cloth of gold 35 and 40 rup[cis] a cobda. And seeing I have gone this course, I must bear it out with some countenance of bravery; which is mine own charge, but it will leave me never a penny. When you see what I have done I must refer myself to you, for I expect nothing from the King. I had not presents to fee those about him; or if I had, to that end I would not bestow them.

¹ See vol. iii., p. 330, and *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 92, &c.

² Cp. *The Embassy*, p. 98.

I pray excuse what is here erroneous. My experience is young, and it harms not you. I write my opinion; use your own judgment; I am discharged of my duty. I doubt not to find a way to advise you overland, but at some cost. My fever is again returned and hath twice interrupted this letter; and therefore if it appear broken, consider a sick man's brain is full of distempers.

Thus I commit you all to God, whom I pray to assist and direct you in all your public counsels and bless you in all your several good intentions and ends.

Your very affectionate friend to do you service,

Tho. Roe.

Addressed: To the Honourable the Governor and Committees of the East India Company.

Endorsed: Agimere, 25 January 1615 [1616]. Sir Thomas Roe to Mr. Governor and Committees, per Lion. Read and noted, 23 September, 1616.

Sir Thomas Rowe's letter of 25 January 1615 [1616], by the Lion; sent from Agmere. Discourse of Sir Thomas Roc's travel from Surratt to the Mogoll's court and his first entertainment there.



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[Wm. Nicholls] to Tho. Aldworth at Surat.¹

In Achein, this last of Januar^y, anno 1615 [1616].



R. ALDWORTH, By the uncertainty of this conveyance I am discouraged for amplifying as otherwise I would.

In brief, therefore, it may please you the 12th of April, 1613, we arrived with the Dragon and Osiander in this road of Achein, where we continued until the 13th of July following,

¹ This is a copy of the letter spoken of on p. 8. Nicholls was of course unaware of Aldworth's death.

having here buried out of both ships 26 men, and at last with this King's letter to trade at Tecoo or Pryaman we arrived in the road of Tecoo the 7th of August; where all the merchants dying, John Wattson and John Harman, with some twenty more mariners, it fell to my lot to be left principal merchant for the sale of your goods, and my mate captain of the Osiander to remain aboard, especially in the nights. Thus finding slack sales and knavery by the people ashore, who, having pepper, did detract time, which they knew to be chargeable to us, at last, the 30th October, 1613, General Best departed for Bantam. So after a three months Captain Christian was forced to follow, the Osiander proving so leaky through the worm, especially growing, by their judgments, through the foulness of the sea water at Sually. After five months absence, having sheathed at Jackatra near Bantam, returned. And in fine it was the 12th of November, 1614, before we made full sales and gat the Osiander fraught with pepper. The 26th ditto we arrived in Bantam Road, where was the James arrived from the Coast and Syam factory, and the Concord arrived as an adviser out of England, viz. that General Doughton was gone for Surratt with four ships, besides etc. (?).

In February arrived Captain David Middleton with three ships out of England, viz. the Samaritan, the Thomas and Thomasine. By council the Thomas was determined of for this coast with 80 bales of Surratt goods, myself joined in commission with one John Millward, a jeweller. March the 15th we brake ground and the 11th May arrived in Tecoo Road, where, the Governor and Ponleeman being absent and come hither, and the King's goods in the hands of the Ponleema of Pryaman to sell, we were denied trade; that of force, our goods being detained, we were constrained to come hither.

The 20th June, 1615, we arrived in this Road, where we found the Hector at anchor from Surratt, who had buried their cape merchant, Mr. Oxwick, and some twenty-four other their mariners, and were promised the King's letter, which at last they obtained, importing thus: that, provided the King's goods at Pryaman be first sold, then for them to sell theirs so long as their ship remained in the road and not to leave at the hardest any merchant ashore; which I knowing to be chargeable, as also the

people ashore held it nothing worth, and in fine told the King that for suchlike grant I would not stay my ship a day, amplifying unto him the cunning of the people, when they perceive of such injunction that the ship is to stay in road, will delay time, by which time's loss will eat out our profits by charges. At last I procured His Majesty's letters for two years for the sale only of the Thomas' goods and employment of their proceeds, which was contrary to all the merchants' opinion of the Hector, who brake ground herchence for Tecoo the 6th of July, leaving Mr. Juxson merchant in pawn for a new Ponleema of Tecoo which they carried with them; with which Mr. Jouckson (by council before the Hector's departure) I was to stay here, both for better direction of future merchants and for the hopeful profits of this place. The 10th of August Mr. Jouckson died. So myself being left here principal with one other assistant, Abram Bonde, purser's mate of the Thomas, they departed for Tecoo the 16th ditto.

To come to the main scope of my drift: it may please you the staplest commodity for this country is cotton wool untoused, worth here 25 taylor the bahare, and so may be vented in abundance; moreover, if the Gogeratts bring not, it may be sold at our own rate: its worth little there and as good to fill our ships thence as bring them half empty. Blue baftas of 3 and 4 ma. per piece. Candyques of Brothia¹ are most staple commodities in all parts of this country. Surratt steel, called Besse Ganda, and others call it Besse Mallella, worth there three rials per co.² is worth here five taylor per c. and at Teco and these parts 18 rials per c. readily. Surratt silk girdles, called here Ickatt Pingons,³ of 8 and 9 hestas⁴ long, sold to great profit, and much requested in Bantam likewise. Fine blue baftas from 5 ma. per piece to 30, some 20 corge in a ship. Some fine whites of like price. Sellas blue and Catchambangs.

[Unsigned].

Endorsed: Sent for Suratt by a Nockada of Dabull, who went for Mocha in the Red Sea.

¹ Broach.

³ Malay *ikat*, 'to bind,' and *pingang*, 'the waist.'

² Hundred (cp. vol. iii., p. 234). ⁴ See vol. ii., p. 343.

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Richard Westby to John Jourdain at Bantam.¹

In Jambe, this 10th February, anno 1615 [1616].



WORSHIPFUL Sir, My service in what you please to command me remembered unto you, with my prayers to God for the continuance of your health and good success in all your affairs, etc.

May it please you to understand that I have made sale of your damasks, though at a low rate, at ten pecculls, one with another, the corge, a small price, but by reason of their defects and doubting the China junks would be here this year I sold them away for pepper due at all times of demand, which is sure as soon as pepper cometh down. Your sword-blades as yet will not away, but the King hath offered me a peccull per piece. I have sold two of them for two pecculls per piece, and if the Mallencaboes² come down they will, I hope, all sell at that rate. I pray you, if I can sell them, per the next to send me word whether I shall return your adventure in pepper or gold of this country, it being good sand gold, such as is vendible at Sackadane, but in my opinion very dear, for now it is worth 6 pecculls the Priaman tayle and at the cheapest worth 5 and 5½ pecculls. If you will have any returned for the Company at these prices, I pray you advise me by the next and what quantity. A muster of it I will send to Mr. Balle to lay out for me upon necessities, being half a tayle. I have writ to him to show it to you to see how you like it.

I pray you, if Mr. Bale speak to you for any cloth for shirting for me, to spare me some and put it to my account; for all the cloth here will yield none so broad for that use.

I made bold with the consent of the rest of the merchants to send down Robert Burges to the ship, there to stay for his misdemeanour, he being so proud and headstrong and so base in his carriage³ that I could not here rule him without great discredit to our nation and to the Company and a hindrance to our pro-

¹ This letter is almost entirely concerned with private trade and shows to what an extent this was carried on (cp. vol. iii., p. 327).

² See vol. iii., p. 204.

³ Cp. *ibid.*, p. 205.

ceedings here; and for his abusing the Company I refer you to the master and the rest of the company of ship. I have also sent you back John Smyth, a man much disordered by drink, and when he is sober so proud and lazy that he is fit for nothing but to drink and sleep; neither doth he care for the Company's service, as divers times he hath told me, but desireth to go for his country. For the master,¹ he is a very honest man, both sufficient and careful, and beareth as good a command amongst his men as any young man in the Indies; a more sufficient man you cannot find, were his ship greater; but I know he will be very unwilling to return.

We are generally petitioners to you to supply our wants for these things mentioned in the note hereinclosed,² which will be commodious for us and spare the Company's purse, divers of these things being very dear and not to be had.

Thus I take my leave for this present and rest at your command,
Richard Westby.

Addressed: To the Worshipful John Jourdain, Captain of English house, dd. in Bantam. Per the Attendant, whom God preserve.

Endorsed: Richard Wesby his letter from Jambee; received by the Attendants (*sic*) the 18th of March, anno 1615 [1616].



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John Tucker³ to Sir Thomas Smythe.

Laus Deo in Jambee, this 11th February, 1615 [1616].



HONOURABLE Sir, My duty remembered. I pray for your good health and prosperity, etc.

My last unto you was by Mr. Thomas Elkington from Bantam,⁴ giving you to understand of the Attendant and the Gift's pinnace, which were bound for discovery upon

¹ Richard Hounsell, of whom see vol. iii., p. 331.

² Missing.

³ One of the factors of Downton's fleet. He died at Jambi not long after the date of this letter.

⁴ Not extant.

Sumatra to a place called Jambee, lying up a river (as the master doth suppose) 25 leagues (the river's mouth, whereat the ships come in at, lieth in 40 mi. to the southwards of the equinoccial); and in them for merchants Richard Westby, myself and William Varnon. Whither, with the help of God, the 27th of September we arrived at one of the river's mouths, there being four in all, and the 29th ditto we the merchants, having laded the pinnace with part of our goods, departed towards Jambee, leaving the ship to ride there till further advice; and the 21st October, after a great deal of trouble, by reason of the waters running so strong down against us, we arrived at Jambee.

At our coming hither the King gave us leave to sell our goods but would not give us leave to settle a factory. The reason was the King of Jore sent a letter to this King that he should not entertain us, for we were a vile people, drunkards and thieves, with many other vile terms of us; which letter, as we have since understood, was there by the Flemings procured.¹ But since the King have given us leave to settle a factory and build a house, the which we have begun to build. Having had some knowledge by the country people of the river, we sent down to the ship warps, and willing the master to go to the furthest river's mouth to the northwards there to go in and bring up the ship as high within the river as he could, the which he brought up the better half way and could not come no farther, the stream running so strong against them. So there he hath rid three months. Therefore ships to come here must come in August and then they may with ease come up here, a ship of 200 tons as these country people say.

Concerning the trade of this place, of itself it yieldeth nothing, but up the river a month or two journey is great store of pepper and some gold; but by reason the greatest place called Mannancabo² hath civil wars amongst themselves that they have not been down here these three or four years. Yet here have come down good store of pepper; for this year have gone away from hence laden four frigates and two junks Portingalls, besides China and Java junks and one small Fleming. The pepper which they have carried away from hence hath been old of the last year's;

¹ See vol. iii., p. 324.

² See p. 24.

none of this year's pepper is yet come down, but about two months hence is expected very much.

The commodities which we brought hither, being of Surratt, as yet are in little request, but hope will be better. The reason is because the Portingalls and Flemings have brought hither this year great store of Choromandel cloth and sold it at very base prices, which hath made our commodities to be of less esteem. But we think the Portingalls will come no more here, for the Flemish ship that went away from hence was by contrary winds put back again to the river's mouth and there met with three or four Portingall frigates bound for this place; he took the best of them and carried away with him and made the others return for Malacca.

For the quantity of pepper that may be had here yearly I cannot say anything until I have seen those prows come down which are expected two months hence; then I shall be able to give your Worship some notice thereof. At present here is no pepper to be had, all having been carried away. Our coming so late hath been the cause we could not get pepper to lade our ship, she having but the pinnace' lading, and now cannot tarry no longer, the monson growing to an end, but hope by the next return we shall have good store of pepper.

Until then I rest, with my duty remembered unto the Worshipful Committees, and commit you and them with your affairs to the tuition of the Almighty God.

Your servant,

John Tucker.

Addressed: To the Honorable Knight Sir Tho. Smith, Governor of the Right Worshipful Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, this dd. in London.

Endorsed: John Tucker from Jambce upon Sumatra, the 11 February, 1615[1616]. Received by the Dragon the 19 of May, 1617. Ext[racted]. *Added later:* For proof of the Dutch defaming us.



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Lucas Anthecunis to Sir Thomas Roe.¹

Musulpatam, 1st and 15th February, 1615 [1616].



WORSHIPFUL, After salutations. These are to certify your Worship that the ship the Solomon, appointed by General Downton from Bantam to Patania and from thence to the Coast, is arrived in safety here in Musulpatam per month January. Her departure from Bantam to Patania was in July, the 24th, the master Hugh Bennett, for merchants George Chancey, Ralph Preston, Humphry Elkington, Timothy Mallery, etc. ; and had order to take Mr. John Gurney in at Patania for cape merchant and agent of the Coast, to whom their letters were directed, we being resident in Siam. By means of the wars I was so long kept there before I could make despatch of the goods belonging to the Globe, that after the arrival of Mr. Gourney with the Darling, which brought a great capital in her of Coast cloth purchased here by the James, which arriving from Bantam in Patania, thought it not convenient to proceed any further not to endanger his mounstone. So that the Darling arriving there from Succadania transported the said goods in her for Siam ; the James returned from Patania to Bantam and so for England. So that I was forced after the arrival of Mr. Gurney to spend one whole year more in Siam before I could bring the account of the Seventh Voyage to a final conclusion. These particular accounts have caused no small damage to the Company here in India through divers principals resident almost at all places, each striving for his own voyage, by which means divers times the one deals with the other like strangers and not as though the goods belonged to one master ; but now all matters are redressed by the orders brought by Captain Middleton.

¹ Received by Roe on May 23. 'This day,' he notes in his journal, 'I received letters from one Lucas at Mesolapatan concerning merchants' affairs, which I understood not, and delivered them to Bidolph to be sent to Suratt' (*The Embassy*, p. 180).

Although the whole is addressed to Roe, there seems to be little doubt (from its general tenour and especially from one passage on p. 33) that the greater portion is merely a copy of a letter to General Keeling at Surat, which Anthecunis thought he ought to communicate to the ambassador for his information.

Having made an end in Siam I embarked in a small junk for Patania, whe[n at] the coming out of the river I received the letters come with the Solomon as well of [the] Company as of Mr. Jurdan and Mr. Elkington, chief merchants at Bantam (but Mr. Jou[rdain] was upon his departure with the Gift or Hector), out of which letters I understood the success of all which passed with the fleet in Suratt until their arrival at Bantam. The letters for Mr. Gurney I sent up the river (with all haste), which is above 25 leagues long, that we might confer together before my departure, seeing this sudden alteration, what were best and most profitable to be done for the Company, to leave their factories furnished with sufficient men, as also in furthering what concerns the voyage of the ship, by the copies of which resolutions, herewithal sent, you may perc[eive] what we have done therein.¹

After a tedious voyage arriving in Patania I found Mr. Chancey deceased, who with the rest of the merchants or factors had resolved to depart the 10th of October without making any longer stay for Mr. Gurney or his letters, although junks came daily from Siam to Patania (being the chief time of the monsoone) and knew well that I was ready to come, having also ample information that the Globe departed from Patania [the] 21st of October for the Coast through the straits of Sincapoura,² the easterly wind[s not?] blowing as yet, which resolutions (he having no authority thereunto) are both odio[us] and also to the hindrance of the Company that young men should presume so much [of] themselves without respect to their principals. A court being assembled after [our] arrival in Patania to see whether our resolution taken in Siam might be confirmed, wherein after all matters had been generally well debated and consulted upon (as your Worship may perceive per the copy,³ unto which I refer you), I was constrained to take the charge upon me, the rather seeing the Company's service required the same, to avoid disorders which were growing amongst the merchants that were to go the voyage; also lest any trouble should arise hurtful to the Company here in Musulpatam through Mr. Flores, who by force took the Governor's son out of the Custom house, carrying

• ¹ See vol. iii., p. 157.

³ See vol. iii., p. 178.

² In 1613 (see *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 325).

him aboard the *Globe*, having no other means to recover his debts, which the Governor ought him, being about 7 or 8000 rials, which he desperately attempted and happily performed the same, receiving in all his debts, which act perhaps through ignorance of our people might be aggravated, and that if the Governor or naturals should pretend anything concerning the same I would rather myself see the same redressed than by any other, we being bound one with the other in the voyage of the *Globe*.¹

The goods of Patania embarked before my coming and all matters put in good order, we departed from thence the 17th of October towards Jor to further our voyage ; but found (as did the *Globe*) the easterly winds not yet blowing through, so that we set sail soon enough ; although it be dangerous for ships to depart from Patania for the straits of Mallacca that stay longer than the 5th² or 26th because that the easterly winds there on the coast do blow sooner than in the straits, whereby you cannot get off to seaward, and certain Dutch ships by staying longer have lost their passage.³

At the entrance of the straits of Sincapoura we found a Dutch man-of-war, carrying 36 pieces of ordnance, being of the company of ten or twelve more appointed for the siege of Mallacca with the aid of the King of Achene, whom he had been withal 5 or 6 days before our coming. What mischance was like to have happened unto them through misunderstanding and his great power your Worship may see in the resolution. And after we had had conference with the King of Jor, who came aboard our ship, we understood by him that the Achender was discontented with our nation, and that two of our ships that had been in Achene, which I presume to be the *Hector* and *Thomas*, who refused to assist him in the siege of Mallacco, so that he caused them to depart, not suffering them to trade ; informing us also of the *Portingalls'* fleet that lay before Mallacca. But giving no great credit to him in all things, the next day we passed the straits, and, coming through the second straits, we had news that the King of Achen had been fighting with the *Portingalls* (being a fleet of four galleons, two ships, three galleys and twenty or thirty frigates

¹ See vol. iii., p. 318.

² 25th ?

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³ It was of course necessary to work out of the port before the change of monsoon.

and bantins¹) four or five miles short of Mallacca, off of the land Mouar, in the narrowness of the passage; so that our way was blocked up and beset, we remaining confused what to do, being not above 25 leagues from both the fleets, by which means we were constrained to confer together what was best to be done, not trusting the Achender through his tyranny, for the best that was to be expected from him was to force us to assist him; and what goodwill the Portingalls bear us is very well known unto your Worship. So that we stood in no small danger to lose our mounson for coming hither this year, but that we were assured the Dutch fleet could not stay long, who came not all together through the sheathing of their ships at Bantam and Jaccatra, neither could be made ready all at once; which we understood by the man-of-war formerly spoken withal, and that their rendezvous was in the river of Jor; which encouraged us the more not to return again to the straits, but according to our resolution taken² we sailed in a bay under the island of Cardamon,³ happening on such a fit place that no ships could pass from or coming towards Mallacca out of the straits of Sabon or Sincapour but must come in sight of us. Where after ten or twelve days that we stayed to wood and water, we perceived the Dutch fleet to pass, being eight sail, right towards Mallacca, whereupon, making ourselves ready, three days afterwards we followed them, staying so long that they might the better be entangled one with another that a more free passage might be made us, which in effect happened so; for coming before Mallacca found them lustily shooting with great ordnance one at another, and being calm we drave most part of the day in sight of the fort and ships, and towards evening we saw the burning of two ships. So we followed on our course, wishing our friends good fortune in their exploit.

By the coming of three Dutch yachts⁴ through the straits of Sabon we had news of the decease of General Downton aboard the Gift before Bantam: the loss of the Thomasine before Macasser in going out laden with mace and nutmegs coming from Banda, the people all saved: also the arrival of two small ships departed from England since Captain Downton and Captain

¹ See vol. iii., p. 332.

² *Ibid.*, p. 214.

³ Carimon (*ibid.*, p. 333).

⁴ Yachts.

Midleton's fleets, whereof they had spoken with one in Jambyn, being there to establish a factory, a fit place for sale of cloth and getting quantity of pepper, being not able to get any other particularities from them; they of Jambyn having no notice of us (although Jambyn be not above 50 or 60 leagues from Cardemon) nor receiving letters from them. The preparation for wars, as well in England as Holland, we partly understand, but know no certainty thereof.

After we had passed Mallacca we had a reasonable good passage until our arrival here, where, although I used all diligence to understand if any ships were arrived in Suratt, could never come to the knowledge whether any were come this year or no, neither could I get a pattimar to despatch away with these letters hcrewith sent, come from Bantam to Mr. Aldworthe, Mr. Edwards as other persons, wherein I make no question but they make mention of some particularities concerning the Company's business which is very needful for your Worship to know. I find also in the orders of the ship the Solomon underwritten by General Downton and Mr. Elkington, who have by information and experience found it profitable to buy in Suratt these sort of cloths following to the value of thirty or forty thousand mamoths and to send the same with the first ship that comes for Bantam, that will vent there and other places at good advantage :

Allejaes Amadavar.	Bacar Baroche.	Burralls & red Sclacs.
Cassadra Nill.	Tapesell Matura.	Chautares Agra.
Broad Pintados of	Tapesill grande.	Berames white. .
Bramporte.	Baftais white of 60,	Patolas of 7 & 8 long.
Pintados Pilgar.	70 and 80 ma.	Chyntys of Amadavaus.
Chador Pintados.	per corgde.	Duttas crew ¹ or raw.
Casanie Harier.		

What you shall find more in the letters of General Downton, Mr. Elkington and Mr. Jor[dain] concerning the buying of the abovesaid cloths is unknown unto me; only I find by order as before mentioned that these are profitable sorts at Bantam and other places to the southwards, and require upon our arrival to give you present advice thereof, that if ships were there to have

¹ Crude? 'Unbleached' is meant.

the same sent with the first ; and although I have been here about a month, I could not bring it to pass to send the same unto your Worship, thinking also that no ships had arrived there this year, at least I could get no knowledge thereof until the arrival of Peter Gilson¹ from Bramporte, that gave me to understand that your Worship was there with four ships² and that he in company of Sir Thomas Row departed from Suratt the 9th of November³ for Brampour: also the decease of Mr. Aldworthe, with the ill dealing of the new Governor, with whom your Worships are much troubled, but it is not strange, being here not free from the same; for I have been here in the road about a month but cannot come to the unlading of the ship, which capital and goods amount unto (as your Worship may perceive by the copy of the factory), and besides about 6,000 rials belonging to the account of the Seventh Voyage, which I do not bring in the Joint Stock; and seeing by commission that this place is to be continued, which makes me stand out the more with the Governor, for now if at the establishing of the factory I should grant unto all his pretensions, it would be more hurtful to the Company than before with the Globe and James; for they were forced to undergo much wrong from the Governors (that are here farmers), not to lose their monsones and to further their particular voyages; which if I should have followed herein would have been established for a law. My hope is that no ships can come upon me this two months, which makes me contend the harder with [him] to see if it be possible if I may come to some reasonable agreement with Etmoatach[an],⁴ Governor here. The Dutch have here procured with great charges and divers ambassages sent to Goul Conda, which cost their Company above 20,000 rials, to pay the King 3,000 pagotheres (which is above 4,000 rials per anno) for the custom of their goods out and in here in Musulpatam; also they must pay the said sum whether ships come or not, [and] it is but for this place only, for in

¹ Pieter Gillesz. van Ravesteyn, afterwards head of the Dutch factory at Surat. He was one of the two merchants sent overland to that city to claim Van Deinsse's goods, as mentioned in vol. iii. (p. 304). His report on their journey will be found in the Transcripts (at I.O.) from Dutch Records, series I., vol. ii., no. 71, and vol. iii., nos. 87, 88. See also *supra*, p. 8, and *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, pp. 233, 234, &c.

² Keeling is evidently the person here addressed.

³ New Style.

⁴ Itmád Khán (called 'Atmachan' in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 325).